1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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only by biologic parents. Theory does not deflect from the parents to designated relatives any portion of the right to punish; there are no avunculate or amidate relationships. In practice, however, theory is ignored. True siblings and parents' siblings are almost as free as parents themselves in rapping children on the head, in pulling ears, twisting mouths, tying up a child, and other such forms of treatment. Furthermore, older boys whose depredations may make them annoying to adults may be struck by anyone who catches them in the act, and adults are free in their use of the loose kinship terminology to justify such corporal punishment.

Since parents are not nurturing or idealized figures, physical punishment from them is probably not so acceptable as it might otherwise be. And since corporal punishment may be meted out by any irritated adult who cannot even theoretically claim to be nurturing, it is not to be wondered at that children are resentful and fight back when they are punished.

In addition to corporal punishment, teasing, ridicule, and deception are widely used, not only in disciplining children but also as favorite forms of amusement, especially among young men. I have seen youths in their late teens and early twenties send boys on fool's errands and deceive them with false promises of rewards for services, and then guffaw with laughter when the crestfallen child returned. Fantan the Interpreter one day called to an eight-year-old girl whom we passed on the trail, saying he had just left some honey at her house and she had better hurry home for it. Actually, we had taken some ripe breadfruit to her house but it had been eaten up before we left. On another occasion, a man of about twenty-eight sent a twelve-year-old boy to fetch a bunch of bananas he said he had left at the foot of the village. In return he promised the boy six of them. The boy raced gleefully to the indicated spot but returned saying he had not found them. He was sent off again, and when he returned the second time he realized that he had been deceived. A group of six or seven grown men were sitting about watching the procedure and laughing heartily, to the boy's evident shame and anger.

Under such circumstances it is scarcely surprising that lying is taken as a matter of course in Atimelang. To say "You lie" is considered a statement of fact, not an insult or a reproach. People frequently remark, "He speaks with his mouth, but we do not know what he has in his heart." To speak without regard for accuracy but not necessarily with intent to deceive for one's own advantage is called "talking at random." The most commonplace statements are doubted. When I told friends

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577 181 that I planned to leave in two months, it was commonly assumed that I was deceiving them. Only actual preparations convinced them. In fact, Fantan the Interpreter, who insisted that I really meant to leave, was reprimanded by an older man with the comment, "Don't talk that way; we don't know what people have in their hearts."

577 193 Some of the verbal expressions that imply deception are: *ful batol*, to persuade with false promises; *-kol*, to prevaricate; *-kora*, to deceive with threats or intent to frighten; *likda*, to slant (distort) meaning, to speak crookedly; *rima*, to turn (a person) by false acts or words; *tafaiakdia*, to deceive with false promises, especially in finance; *tanai tanga*, to talk at random without regard for truth; *-ware*, to deny falsely. This is by no means an exhaustive list of the terms for deception. The pat- [867] tern of mistrusting spoken statements, which a child learns to his cost early in life, persists throughout adult experiences and reaches its fullest expression, as we shall see later, in the prestige-weighted area of finance.

865 567 855 In early childhood, the reader will recall, fright was one of the disciplinary techniques used to bring young children into social alignment. Use of this device continues in late childhood. Obviously, however, bogeyman stories and threats of that kind are no longer effective. Formerly the greatest threat of later childhood was probably a type of [848] slavery to which the Netherlands government put a stop approximately twenty years ago. This custom was in all likelihood not of very frequent occurrence, but there are several accounts of children's being bought and sold by people from Atimelang, so that the practice must have been common enough to prove a constant threat to the children of the community. A child who proved incorrigible was liable to be stolen and sold. The offenses considered severe enough for such retribution were incessant thieving and constant quarreling that involved blows and insults.

This treatment was most likely to be meted out to a child whose parents were either dead or of little consequence in the community. A person victimized by such a child would capture the culprit in secret and take him off to some distant village, where he was either sold outright or used in a dowry and bride-price exchange. Such children seemed usually to pass through six or seven hands in the course of a year or two, always being moved farther from their original village until finally they came to rest in some family that wanted to keep them. These slaves, whether boys or girls, were supposed to be treated as members 567 of the family, but a special term (*maiya*) was applied to them.

855 Usually a child of this kind was considered to belong to the lineage

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These factors cannot but create distrust toward others and lability 856
in human relationships. Children must be left with a sense of bewilderment in placing their loyalties and with an essential ignorance of warm and trustful relationships. The lack of training and praise, as well as the presence of teasing, ridicule, and fear, combined with lack of privileges and esteem, must create in the child an essential distrust of itself. All these factors will influence ego formations. They will probably affect morality clusters by failing to provide consistent behavioral precepts. They deprive the child of definite loved persons by means of whom 577
social standards can be internalized.

I do not wish to imply that the Alorese are without such standards—social life without them could not exist. But there is good reason to believe that in Alor the standards are not so rigid or so deeply rooted as they are in our middle class. The likelihood of a deep sense of [154]
guilt, therefore, and of turning aggressions inward upon the self to the point of suicide is much less pronounced. Suicide as a culturally recog- [762]
nized device is unknown, and I have records of only a very few situations that might be interpreted by implication as suicidal. (See Chapter 7.)

In respect to sex the culture is much less harsh. Sexual activity is 856
expected to diminish during late childhood. However, information regarding it is not withheld, and disapproved activity seems to be no more harshly treated than social offenses such as theft and disobedience. Again, as in earlier developmental periods, the activities of the instincts [155]
seem to be less destructively handled than those of the ego.

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Three meals a day is the symbol of adulthood. It is significant that food as a status symbol should be used at the time that adult sex drives and financial responsibilities first become pressing.

This situation at the end of a long series of childhood experiences probably helps to set the wife as a mother figure. The wife, like the mother, is the responsible provider of food. A high degree of identification between the parent-child and husband-wife relation is actually conscious and valued in the culture. When older men lecture a young couple who have quarrelled, they invariably tell the young woman that she should be a mother to her husband and tell the young man that he should be a father to his wife. One of the strongest expressions of this sentiment was given by a young informant who may have made the identification a little more strongly than was customary.

> Wives are like our mothers. When we were small our mothers fed us. When we are grown our wives cook for us. If there is something good, they keep it in the pot until we come home. When we were small we slept with our mothers; when we are grown we sleep with our wives. Sometimes when we are grown we wake in the night and call our wives "mother."

The mother is definitely the provider but, as we have seen, she is an uncertain one in many cases. It is not surprising therefore to find the relationship between spouses a precarious and mistrustful one. Even though the whole weight of the masculine financial system acts to stabilize marriages, Atimelangers average approximately 1.9 divorces apiece. This seems a high average when one considers the elaborate and cumbersome monetary negotiations involved in divorce.

So far I have been concerned with sketching briefly some of the hunger experiences of childhood, the associated restrictive disciplines of adults, and the devices through which the culture somewhat negatively permits children to satisfy this basic need. There has been some indication how all of these affect human relationships. I should like to turn now to a series of institutionalized food attitudes and behavior.

The first and most striking is sacrifice, which is a matter of almost daily experience, representing practically all relationships to the supernatural. The word for sacrifice means literally "to feed," and every supernatural object is so placated. Individual and village tutelary spirits, the graves of the dead, the spirits of ancestors who have cultivated a field, wealth-bringing supernaturals, are all given their share of chicken blood, rice, and pig meat. Realistically enough, the offering is small and purely symbolic. The bulk of the sacrificial food is consumed by the people. In myths the sky heroes are always fed rice, millet, and eggs. Their revivification is achieved by pouring a pot of millet over their heads. The building of lineage houses must be accompanied by feasts at every stage of construction, and its importance is proportional to the number of pigs slaughtered in the course of building it. Newly purchased gongs or *mokos*[4] must be fed. It is, in fact, difficult to find any aspect of religious and social ceremonial which does not involve "feeding." In this connection it is not without signifi-

[4] Metal kettle drums used as currency.